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Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction. By CHARLES H. MCCARTHY, Ph.D. New York, McClure, Phillips & Co., 1901. — xxiv, 531 pp.

This volume deals with a portion of one of the most interesting of the practically unwritten chapters of American history. The first part of the Introduction gives a brief summary of the political history of the United States from 1776 to 1860, the apparent object of which is to indicate that there were differences, chiefly in relation to slavery and state rights, between the North and the South which ultimately led to the attempted withdrawal of the slave states from the Union, to their subjugation and to their ultimate restoration. "This return is what is commonly known as Reconstruction." The value of this part of the book is open to question, since the information contained therein is too meagre to be of any value to one not fairly familiar with the history of American political ideas. The last part of the Introduction is devoted to an outline of the remainder of the book. The body of the book is divided into twelve chapters, with the following titles: "Tennessee," "Louisiana," "Arkansas," "Virginia," "Anti-Slavery Legislation," "Theories and Plans of Reconstruction," "Rise of the Congressional Plan," "An Attempt to Compromise," "The Electoral Vote of Louisiana," "Senate Debate on Louisiana," "Incidents of Reconstruction" and "Culmination of the Presidential Plan."

Inasmuch as the question of reconstruction first became a practical one in Tennessee, the author begins with the application of President Lincoln's plan in that state. In March, 1862, Senator Andrew Johnson's term expired, whereupon Mr. Lincoln sent him back to Tennessee as "military governor," a considerable portion of the state having already been secured by force of arms. Some have affected to regard the advent of the military governor at this time as something new in American history, but Dr. McCarthy calls attention to the fact that California and New Mexico were subject to military governors for some time after their conquest and that the legality of acts done by these governors was affirmed by the Supreme Court. He further infers that both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Johnson were familiar with these precedents, since both served in the Thirtieth Congress, which opened December, 1847. Mr. Johnson's speech in the Twenty-Ninth Congress, in defense of the military government established in New Mexico, might have been drawn upon for precedents for certain of his acts in Tennessee, particularly the expulsion of certain citizens and the imposition of rigorous oaths.

Dr. McCarthy makes a few references to the details of administration; but the account is mainly confined to the larger political acts which culminated in the constitutional convention of 1865 and resulted in the restoration of the state under the President's plan by the action of considerably more than ten per cent of the voters.

The same treatment is accorded to Louisiana and Arkansas, so far as the work of restoration was carried in those states. In dealing with the former, the author gives only a passing notice to one of the most remarkable courts ever established in the history of American jurisprudence. Reference is made to Judge Peabody's "court of record for the State of Louisiana," which was established by executive order, having power to try every conceivable cause, civil and criminal, including cases in admiralty, with no right of appeal. Since the Supreme Court had declared unconstitutional the exercise of jurisdiction in prize cases by an admiralty court established in California by the military governor, the reader is naturally curious to know the fate of Mr. Lincoln's court. The decision of the Supreme Court in *The Grapeshot* and the meaning put upon that decision in *Dooley v. The United States* might well have been discussed.

In Tennessee the presidential plan—to appear to assist the people in bringing their states back into the Union—was seen at its best; in Louisiana, perhaps, at its worst. In the latter the interference of the military authorities was frequent, not to say flagrant; yet no adequate discussion is given as to the possible influence of this on the failure of the plan. The shadier sides of the work of that political and military charlatan, General Butler, whose sarcasm was sharper than his sword, are not touched upon, though they exasperated the people almost beyond endurance at the very outset.

The fourth chapter gives a good account of the farce gone through with to effect the "legal" dismemberment of Virginia and the erection of West Virginia into a separate state. The questions of constitutionality and expediency are discussed at some length in extracts from speeches in Congress and from official opinions, but nothing is said of the equally important subject of the political morality of the dismemberment. That is, indeed, a matter so patent as to need little comment beyond the mere recital of the facts, but the writer might at least have referred to Mr. Blaine's excellent treatment of the subject. Some attention is given to the later work of that "small but eminently respectable" coterie of gentlemen known as the "Pierrepont Government" of Virginia, sometimes sneeringly referred to as the "Common Council of Alexandria." The chief

part of its work seems to have been to maintain itself against the contemptuous disregard of its rights by General Butler.

Chapter V gives an account of the anti-slavery legislation, the bearing of which on Lincoln's plan of restoration, as such, certainly was more or less remote. The next chapter discusses the President's plan and the various theories of the status of the states propounded by Sumner, Stevens and the northern Democrats and in the Crittenden Resolutions. The writer then "traces with some degree of fullness the sentiments of reconstruction, in July, 1864, not only of the majority but of every important element composing Congress," and follows this with an account of the attempts at a compromise on some plan after the pocket veto of the Wade-Davis Bill. Twenty-seven pages are devoted to the disposition of the electoral vote of Louisiana in 1864 and forty-three to the Senate debate on the recognition of Louisiana as a restored state. The last chapter deals with the efforts at reorganization made between the inauguration of Mr. Johnson and the meeting of Congress in December, 1865. Two appendices give the membership of the Thirty-Seventh and Thirty-Eighth Congresses.

The book under review is, in some respects, a valuable contribution to American history. Any book dealing with this subject must be made up largely from documents; and when handling these the author has shown good judgment in quoting some of them freely, instead of spoiling them by paraphrases. But some of these documents appear to have led the writer astray, or caused him to lose the sense of proportion. When one finds ninety pages, or nearly one-tenth of the book, devoted primarily to the Wade-Davis Bill, the fiasco following its veto and the fruitless effort to replace it by subsequent legislation, he is tempted to believe that "hysteria" was mistaken for "historia." This belief is strengthened on finding eleven pages devoted to Davis's speech alone. If the writer intended to confine himself to his subject, sixty pages, instead of two hundred and sixty, would have been a liberal allowance for the matter discussed in Chapters V-XI. The title can hardly be said to cover the contents of the book, for much space is devoted to the discussion of matters not at all closely related to the subject. Of such are the anti-slavery legislation, the Freedman's Bureau, the volunteer diplomats and the Hampton Roads conference, to mention only a few. "An Account of the Theories of the Status of the Seceding States and of the Efforts, Executive and Legislative, at Restoration, 1861-65" would more adequately, but not quite fully,

describe the scope of the work. Its chief value lies in the fact that it has brought these things into one view for the reader. It cannot be said to be an adequate history of Reconstruction during the period covered, for very little is said of the bearing and effects of the theories and plans in actual operation upon the people most intimately concerned. Such accounts must be written from the point of view of the states reconstructed, and must give the effects produced there, as well as the hopes and fears, the benevolent intentions and malevolent inventions, of the makers and administrators of the plans. Until such accounts have been written it will be difficult, not to say impossible, for any history of the United States to give a fair and adequate treatment of our political and social history from 1862 to 1877.

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The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780.

By EDWARD MCCRADY. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1901. — 899 pp.

The third volume of McCrady's admirable work on the history of South Carolina, of which the first two volumes have already been reviewed in this QUARTERLY, contains a detailed account of all that happened in the state during the eventful years from 1775 to 1780. The points on which new light has been thrown more particularly are: the capture of the powder vessels in 1775 and the aid given to the forces about Boston through the much-needed ammunition thus secured, the explanation of the reasons why the Germans and the Scotch-Irish of the up country opposed the patriotic party and the part played by the partisan bands in bringing the war to a successful termination.

It is impossible to understand the internal politics of South Carolina without taking into account the fact that the state has been split into two opposing sections from the beginning. This circumstance helps to explain the lack of unanimity at the breaking out of the Revolution and the fierce partisan strife that followed. The German and Scotch-Irish people in the back country were not affected by the questions at issue, as were the tide-water planters. The latter had denied them the franchise, representation, the advantages of local courts and local administration of any sort. Therefore the stamp tax had not aroused the opposition among them that it had elsewhere. There were no courts to issue legal documents that